1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

868 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fish-
524 ing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The
614 tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are
582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar-
684 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

CULTURAL POSITION AND ORGANIZATION

The Bribri, according to Sapper,[3] Brinton,[4] Thomas and Swanton,[5] and Pittier,[2a] belong to the South American rather than to the Mexican and North American culture group. According to Pittier, the tribe is divided into two groups, the Tubor-uak[6] and the Kork-uak or Djbar-uak. These moieties were exogamous and matrilineal, and were divided into the following clans:

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614
616

TUBOR-UAK

Suritz-uak, Deer clan.
Dutz-uak, Bird clan.
Bokir-uak.
Dojk-uak.
Sark-uak, Monkey clan.
Dogdi-uak, Snail-shell-River clan.
Orori-uak, Ravine-of-the-Arari-River clan.
Kugdi-uak, Ravine-of-the-Uren-River clan.
Tkiut-uak, Flea-house-site clan.
Duri-uak, Bird-ravine clan.
Arau-uak, Thunder-house clan.
Urijk-uak, Ant-eating-Bear clan.

KORK-UAK, OR DJBAR-UAK

Djbar-uak.
Di-u-uak, Water-house clan.
Tkbiri-uak, Snake-ravine clan.
Kos-uak, Precipice clan.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
616 Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolate-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each other. 773 All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a [614] kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and [114] grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

[P. 8(A)]

101 361 [162] The two Bribri groups are to be found at Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*Jeri*) and amount to approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival [174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds 173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca 166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig- [614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time. [582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Quelys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at [191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Quelys]

[103] [797] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

892 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen
[582] among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

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Bribri
Cabecar

764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and
[765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis
764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri-
●614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pų* (*see* Funeral and Bone
764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pų* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in
[775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches
765 from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has
[177] undertaken an educational program to in-
[871] corporate the Talamancans into the Costa Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrebué*, or *sinábwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéhuwak*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

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Bribri
Cabecar

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
[643] Santiago. This has the historic value of an eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[652] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
[756] the medicine man takes the place of the "casa grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *surí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-501.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 35(A)]

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Cabecar

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
[825]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

●614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
[224] stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *teru*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[75] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
423 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
627 sometimes assumes this role although the most
692 usual method is for the family of the culprit
to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
681 treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
184 is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
184 the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
422 watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
793 high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
199

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar
[P 36(A)]
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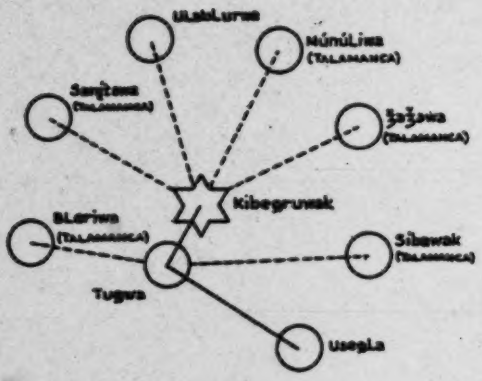
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[Text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analyst]

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manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

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[565]

Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *durirak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *unirak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

262
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[643]

[117] The *saLuak* and *tsirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *bruparuak*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.36(B)]

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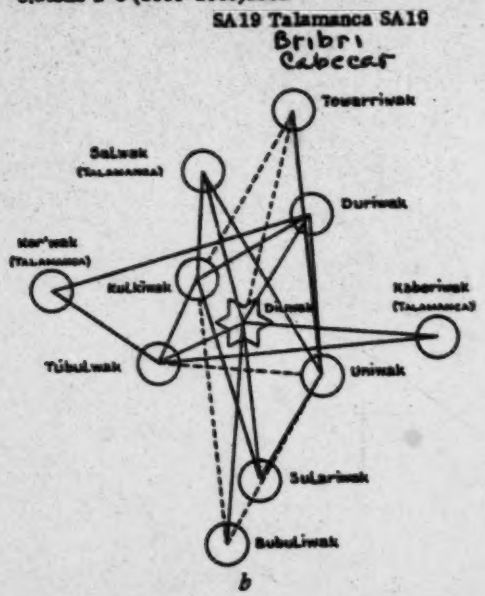

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

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maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séké* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ké* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *ditsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *nuwəet* meaning "other group."[116]

[582]

[614]

101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[116] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *séberuetar* is "other group."

[P. 37(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *sɔktɔ* or *sejektɔ* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktɔ* (lan-
• 614 guage). *je* is for the sound only. There are still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubúLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kɔberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak — kɔberiwak
duriwak — uniwak
túbuLwak

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak — mediwak
mogriwak — brupawak
kɔbériwak — túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves
[851] members of their *father's* clan in spite of the fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *síbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

614 people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənɟtswa, ɟəɟəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənɟtswa, ɟəɟəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563] [122] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[123] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

601 tachiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da
mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as indi- [422] vidual and which can be handed down at death [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabecar

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabécar, an aspirant must belong to one of the [614] following clans: túgwa, blLeriwa, síbawa, sənjtswa, ɟəɟəwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred [198] songs with words in an ancient or secret [778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri [754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and [436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 778 776 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Talamancan religion begins with the great God known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[144] Aguilar P., 1953.

[145] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Otón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabécar
Bribri
Terraba

784 825 [779] [224] tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the protector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

[776] 753 825 [774] [756] 784 825 614 262 [767] [775]

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Bribri
Chánguena

173 726 The Talamancan medicine man also used his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuinas, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 976 [103] [614] *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried 173 976 [103] *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

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MYTHS

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
776 spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
• [614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ṯa* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tomí* are guardians of animals. *Lạn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbś*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dinamí* in Cabécar and *díkuṇ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namí* in Cabécar and *sirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuṇ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[1] [See category 116, ¶64. Analyst.]
[2] [See category 116, ¶56. Analyst.]

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Lárraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 ● 614 All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the [825] jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

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*539 614 [824] [825] *grɯwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítsɯa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegrɯwák* clan because long ago at *sənítsɯa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.